

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MR. KARPOV'S STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 25, 1976 (SALT TWO-919)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY MR. KARPOV AT  
THE SALT TWO MEETING OF FEBRUARY 25, 1976.

KARPOV STATEMENT

FEBRUARY 25, 1976

I

THE USSR DELEGATION WOULD LIKE TO DRAW THE ATTENTION OF THE U.S. SIDE TO THE QUESTION OF WORKING OUT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE WORDING FOR THE DEFINITION OF HEAVY ICBMS FOR THE DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT BEING PREPARED.

AS YOU KNOW, THERE IS MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING ON THE  
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SUBSTANCE OF THE PROPOSALS TABLED BY THE SIDES ON THAT

QUESTION. NOW THE TASK IS TO AGREE ON SPECIFIC WORDING WHICH WOULD INCORPORATE SUCH MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING.

AT THE FEBRUARY 6 AND 10, 1976 MEETINGS THE USSR DELEGATION PRESENTED THE RATIONALE FOR THE NEED TO RETAIN IN THE DEFINITION BEING WORKED OUT THE CONCEPTS OF "LIGHT" AND "HEAVY" ICBMS, WHICH HAD BEEN ADOPTED BY THE SIDES.

I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT SUCH IS THE SOVIET SIDE'S APPROACH OF PRINCIPLE TO THAT QUESTION. AND IT IS BASED ON WEIGHTLY CONSIDERATIONS.

LAUNCHERS OF LIGHT AND HEAVY ICBMS ARE REFERRED TO IN ARTICLE II OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT OF MAY 26, 1972, WHICH IS IN FORCE. THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, SPECIFICALLY ITS PARAGRAPH 3, QUITE UNAMBIGUOUSLY SPECIFIES THAT THIS ARTICLE WILL BE INCLUDED IN THE NEW AGREEMENT. ANY ATTEMPT TO INTERPRET MATTERS AS THOUGH THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, WHICH IS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE NEW AGREEMENT, HAVE SOME SORT OF LIMITED SPHERE OF APPLICATION AND DO NOT APPLY TO ARTICLE II OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT BEING PREPARED, IS CLEARLY UNFOUNDED. THE SUBJECT MATTER OF ARTICLE II OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT CONSTITUTES AN IMPORTANT OBLIGATION, AND THE ASSOCIATED DEFINITION BEING WORKED OUT FOR INCLUSION IN THE NEW AGREEMENT MUST STRICTLY CONFORM TO THE FORMULATIONS CONTAINED IN THAT ARTICLE. RETENTION OF ADOPTED TERMINOLOGY IN THE DEFINITION OF HEAVY ICBMS ALSO ENSUES FROM THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT SOVIET-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS IN MOSCOW.

SINCE THE TIME WHEN AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON INCLUDING ARTICLE II OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT IN THE NEW AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, AS RECORDED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, NOTHING HAS HAPPENED THAT WOULD MAKE IT ADVISABLE IN ANY WAY TO CHANGE THE TERMINOLOGY USED IN THAT ARTICLE.

ANY ATTEMPT TO SUBSTITUTE THE WORD "NON-HEAVY" FOR SECRET

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THE CONCEPT OF "LIGHT ICBMS" IN THE DEFINITION BEING WORKED OUT FOR HEAVY ICBMS IS PATENTLY CONTRARY TO THE CONTENT OF THE AFOREMENTIONED UNDERSTANDINGS.

THE SOVIET SIDE FIRMLY BELIEVES THAT THE CONCEPTS OF LIGHT AND HEAVY ICBMS MUST BE RETAINED IN THE DEFINITION OF HEAVY ICBMS BEING WORKED OUT FOR PURPOSES OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

II

IT FOLLOWS FROM THE DISCUSSION OF THE QUESTION OF WORKING OUT THE WORDING OF THE DEFINITION OF HEAVY ICBMS THAT THERE IS AGREEMENT ON DELIMITING MISSILES IN SUCH A DEFINITION BOTH BY LAUNCHING WEIGHT AND THROW-WEIGHT OF MISSILES.

IN THE COURSE OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS THE WISH WAS EXPRESSED THAT THE NEGOTIATING RECORD REFLECT THE COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF THE TERMS "LAUNCHING WEIGHT" AND "THROW-WEIGHT."

THE USSR DELEGATION HAS CAREFULLY CONSIDERED THE U.S. PROPOSAL OF FEBRUARY 6, 1976 WITH RESPECT TO THE DEFINITION OF THROW-WEIGHT, AS WELL AS THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED IN THIS CONNECTION BY THE U.S. DELEGATION AT THE FEBRUARY 13, 1976 MEETING.

THE USSR DELEGATION PROPOSES THAT, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, ICBM THROW-WEIGHT BE UNDERSTOOD TO MEAN THE SUM OF THE WEIGHT OF THE FRONT END OR RE-ENTRY VEHICLES, AND THE DISPENSING AND TARGETING MECHANISMS, AS WELL AS OF ABM DEFENSE PENETRATION AIDES.

COMPARISON OF THE PROPOSALS OF THE USSR AND U.S. DELEGATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE TERM ICBM "THROW-WEIGHT," INCLUDING THE U.S. DELEGATION'S PROPOSAL TABLED TODAY, CLEARLY SHOWS THAT IN PRACTICE THERE IS COINCIDING UNDERSTANDING OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THIS QUESTION.

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THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TERM "THROW-WEIGHT," PROPOSED BY THE USSR DELEGATION, PROVIDES A PRECISE AND CLEAR INTERPRETATION OF THE CONCEPT "THROW-WEIGHT," WHICH IS EQUALLY APPLICABLE TO ICBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, TO ICBMS EQUIPPED WITH MRVS, AND TO ICBMS EQUIPPED WITH SINGLE RE-ENTRY VEHICLES.

THE USSR DELEGATION ALSO PROPOSES THAT ICBM LAUNCHING WEIGHT BE UNDERSTOOD TO MEAN THE WEIGHT OF A FULLY LOADED MISSILE AT THE MOMENT OF LAUNCH.

THE USSR DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT, UPON REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE FORMULATIONS OF THE PROVISIONS DEALING WITH THE LIMITATION ON INCREASING THE ORIGINAL VOLUME OF ICBM SILO LAUNCHERS AND ON THE DEFINITION

OF HEAVY ICBMS, THE NEGOTIATING RECORD COULD  
APPROPRIATELY RECORD THE COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF THE  
SIDES ON THE QUESTIONS OF MISSILE LAUNCHING WEIGHT  
AND THROW-WEIGHT.

WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE PROPOSALS SUBMITTED  
CONSTITUTE A GOOD BASIS FOR REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE  
LANGUAGE FOR THE AFOREMENTIONED QUESTIONS ON A MUTUALLY  
ACCEPTABLE BASIS.  
JOHNSON

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